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ABSTRACT

Examined in this document are four phases of what are referred to as the counter environment, a new system of beliefs and counter institutions to care for people. The topics studied fall into the general areas of education, therapy, health care, and utopias. Free schools are discussed in terms of varied definitions, historical growth, basic philosophies, funding resources, structure, basic characteristics, teacher and student roles, and their potential future. Specific free schools are referred to. The basic ideologies of radical therapy are compared to those of conventional therapy. Emphasis is on the roles therapists in each play. Particular counter institutions referred to include collective communes, women's liberation centers, telephone hotlines, and crisis centers for youth. The growth of free clinics, reasons for their growth, their aims, their contributions, and their financial resources are discussed. A collage of vignettes about communal life are used in describing communes. Aspects of communal life dealt with include stability, philosophical and physical characteristics, family units, child raising, and communal relationships. An overview of commune success and/or failure factors is provided. A statement and bill of rights drawn up by the Mental Patients' Liberation Project is appended and a list of references is included. (EB)

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CONCEPTUAL PROJECT IN CHILD VARIANCE

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A STUDY OF CHILD VARIANCE: VOLUME III, DELIVERY SYSTEMS
THE GREAT REVERBERATION: COUNTER INSTITUTIONS

by

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I. INTRODUCTION

Since its beginnings in the 1960's, the wave of radical disaffiliation has been categorized as anything from an irrelevant minority to the revolution of the future. What Theodore Roszak meant by the "counter culture" or what Charles Reich intended by "Consciousness III" does not necessarily describe the current state of affairs. What were once symbols of radical discontent, such as long hair or marijuana smoking, are now safely ensconced within the establishment. In this context, searching for common themes, separating the innovative from the imitative or the liberating from the oppressing, becomes difficult.

Like a speeded-up movie, the loose community rapidly dissolves from one scene into another. The labels of yesterday may have little relationship to tomorrow. Yet, however much the values appear protean, many of the original impulses that spawned the counter community have remained. But like a caterpillar, they have undergone a transformation and are reborn in a new form.

Decades seem to pass like centuries today. Within the space of ten years an awesome amount of change has been compressed into a short span of experience. What characterized the early process of radicalism was an oscillation between attempting to change the American system and withdrawing in futility from such an effort. Radicals used such diverse methods as appealing to the conscience of the leaders and throwing fire bombs at institutions. But out of this confusion a fragile culture was emerging. Based upon a "do your thing," love philosophy and united by music and

drugs, the counter culture arose to offer an alternative to conventional society. The drop out phase began to gain greater momentum, fueled by the debacle of political impotence. The withdrawal was characterized by the belief that to change the world, one must first change oneself. To find the peace denied by the outside world, go within. In the most idealistic stages of dropping out, the bewildered individual often found himself without a genuine supportive community to solidify his rebellion. Ephemeral Haight-Ashburys or instant communities like Woodstock were not durable answers. In order to get beyond simple idealism, the hard questions of how to build a strong counter community were beginning to be asked. Amidst the righteousness and dreaminess, people realized that a new culture was not going to appear as easily as LSD visions. A strong alternative community would require social structures to anchor it against faddish fluctuation. And to build those structures would require hard work, patience and impoverishment.

During the late 1960's, new alternative institutions were sporadically appearing to replace the outworn forms of American society. This development coincided with a growing discontent with the spurious complexity of urban civilization. The new phase of the counter community was characterized by an effort to find one's roots, which had been obscured by sophistication, and to live in greater harmony with nature. People deserted the cities to form rural communes. Teachers, parents and children, alienated from the public school system, banded together to form small, unsophisticated schools.

Many of these early efforts were fragile; lacking commitment and funds they often died. But the drive to establish alternatives remained active. This drive, more than the peace protests, LSD and rock music may prove to be the most enduring contributions of the counter culture.

"Emergent counter institutions" is the name we have given to collective efforts in education, psychology and communalism. The phrase appears contradictory in light of the movement's effort to deinstitutionalize society. Yet the phrase suggests the emergence of viable forms of caring, unconnected to the ideology or finances of the larger culture.

* * * * *

Before describing the counter institutions, it is important to suggest the structural and value affinities they share. For all of the varieties of life styles that the counter institutions reflect, they nevertheless draw from a common ideology.

Central to the ideology is the almost total rejection of the values of American society. Adjustment to American culture represents a near-pathological state of normality. The ligaments of the social corpus have broken apart, collapsing social meaning into isolated events of absurd significance. Peter Marin describes the interiors of this awareness (Marin, 1972, p.299):

It is not merely that society has proved imperfect or corrupt; it is, put simply, that 'social reality' seems to have disappeared altogether. What has coherence in the culture or makes sense? In terms of classical Freudian analysis, where once there were traumas, specific causes for confusion, there now seems to be a pervasive sense of loss and rage, a paranoia directed at an entire culture, a sense of having been betrayed by the world itself.

At the heart of their alienation lies the conviction that American society has a will to destruction. It is hostile to life. From the shadow of nuclear annihilation to the genocide and herbicide of the Vietnam War, the expression of American power represents a violent urge to thanatos. The depression of the 1930's was solved by the military rearmament of World War II. And it is this massive economy still structured on war, on destruction, that energizes the society today. Violence becomes our gross national product.

The death culture sublimates its will in many forms. Death becomes a slow suicide of accommodation to repression, congestion and pollution (industrial and televised). The natural desires for human intimacy and community are thwarted by the ever-expanding bureaucratic systems (Alexander, 1972, p.92):

Organization, impersonality and efficiency are hallmarks of technological society; these are characteristics not of community but its negation. Freed from necessity man is freed as well from community. Instead of an organic community of which he is a part, he is now faced with the system, an entity from which he is alienated but which demands conformity.

Individuals are trapped in an increasing powerlessness; no one is to blame and no one can escape. Psychic numbness results from a social reality that deadens experience and reduces humanness.

"One consequence of the death culture's social alienation is that immense stress is placed on the family.

In the absence of an organic society, the family becomes the community. During the Middle Ages and Renaissance, man defined himself in terms of his group, his community. But with the advent of industrial society with its impersonality, mechanization and anomie, the individual has fled these artificial institutions in the attempt to escape a confusing society. The family becomes critical as a shelter from the world and as a place to fulfill desires denied by an atomistic community. Yet, this fragmentation of community has placed serious strains on the nuclear family. It bears all the tensions of a concentrated microcosm and places its members in a claustrophobic situation. Negative emotions like jealousy and possessiveness often replace genuine affection, as the individual strives for security and stability at any cost (Melville, 1972, pp.174-178).

But it is not only the family that is threatened by the relentlessness of the death culture. The underlying drives must also be considered. Much of American society runs on a current of fear. People must learn how to feel threatened to be normalized. Fear is good for business, and what is good for business is good for America. The threat of a contrary political ideology keeps a large segment of the economy productive. Fear creeps in in devious ways. As Jules Henry expressed it: "To be successful in our culture one must learn to dream of failure (Henry, 1963, p.296)."

For the fear of defeat and of loss of status prods individuals to a furious pace of competition, which pits individual against individual and weakens social harmony. The result of this fear is an overemphasis upon order and control. Conformity and obedience become characteristic of the well-adjusted personality. Americans become afraid to express their true inner needs, for fear they will produce disorder and thereby violate the delicate fortress of stabilized sameness.

In the Pursuit of Loneliness, Philip Slater discusses at length this fearful repression in American manners. He argues that the mainstream culture is based upon bogus scarcity assumptions. The individual is led to believe that gratifications are hard to obtain, and becomes fearful that he will be denied access to the cornucopia. Thus, people chain themselves to jobs and to marriages, building expectancies that can never be gratified. The attempt to gain simple, direct gratification in personal ways is severely punished. Pleasure is made scarce by making it illegal (Slater, 1970, pp.88-91). The alliance of fear and scarcity in the culture contributes to a society that is frightened to express its needs openly.

At another level, the social/institutional process, in American society, fragments experience. The individual is increasingly alienated from his world by a social and intellectual process that fosters detachment. Feelings, pleasures are denied intellectually. The thinking self is disassociated from the body.

Part of this alienation is due to the technocratic cult of objectivity. The scientific and educational process implies that the further an object is removed from the subjective biases of the observer, the more knowledge about it can be obtained. Yet, the belief that meaning can be separated from the self results in a severe alienation, as man makes meaning go away from himself, turning the world into an objective "thing." And so another chasm arises to break the harmony of the self and the world.

In addition, the detachment of self and world enters the social sphere. People raised in this culture accept a value of individualism which often runs counter to the search for authentic community:

The belief that everyone should pursue autonomously his own destiny has forced us to maintain an emotional detachment (for which no amount of superficial gregariousness can compensate) from our social and physical environment... (Slater, 1970, p.25).

The split between the self and reality takes a final tragic form. (In the companion paper to this paper, I discuss the troubling conflict between the ideal and the real in America.) Americans are taught to believe in social myths that veil social truths. They are told that the culture is democratic, egalitarian, tolerant, loving, unelitist and upwardly mobile. That the reality contradicts this description is generally overlooked. Yes, we have poverty, discontent and wars, but that does not mean, we are told, that the American Dream is a nightmare. This refusal to confront reality for what it is--a contradiction--results in a nation that alienates itself

from the present and resigns itself to the outmoded value system of the past. We are not only separated from our world, we refuse to look at it realistically, we are alienated from the present. As Sam Keen described it (Keen, 1970, p.21):

The exile's past is quickly changed into a myth, a revered tradition, a set of authoritative models which serve to remove the burden of responsible burden from the present moment...When I depend upon the past for my dignity or for the models of the life style I will adopt I become dissociated from my present. Memory rather than awareness becomes the basis of my identity.

* * * * *

Admittedly the analysis is brief but it represents some of the basic beliefs of those alienated from a mad social system. The lack of community, the death culture and the split of self and world are underlying reasons for the widespread exodus from American society.

Because of disenchantment with radical politics and impatience with the slow pace of reform in social institutions, many youths have moved toward a roll-up-your-sleeves, do-it-on-your-own approach to create the beginnings of a new culture. The revolution still goes on, but no longer in peace marches and political confrontations; the goals are in a new form--the community (Melville, 1972, p.78):

The communal strategy is a reaction against a theory of revolution that deals in political and economic categories that bear no relationship to everyday life. The only goal of revolution is the liberation of daily life...

This aim is pursued in physical and psychological isolation from America. Through a removed, small group the counter-communalists attempt to reconstruct the internal and external environment.

Space. Being "spaced out" gives one removal. A farm is space. Distance between the old and the new world. It is the search for space, in the mind and in the world, that brings the members of the counter community together. The movement is struggling to escape cultural claustrophobia and regain an equilibrium with space that is both cosmic and social in scope.

The ability to create space for this consciousness transformation within a group situation is the basic goal of the counter institutions. The first step is negation. Denial of the dominant culture and the rules and values which throw a psychological net over individuals.

This questioning is central to the overthrow of the old system, which has been internalized inside the mind. Counter-communitarians believe that America has erected a behavioral prison around the individual, exacting a fearful degree of conformity. Those who do not fit the patterns of normality are faced with subtle and overt threats. Yet, if America is a mad society, then how valid are its definitions of deviance? As R. D. Laing once asked, who is the most mad--the patient in a state hospital who believes he has an

atomic bomb in his head or the world leaders who can press the nuclear button? Becoming phenomenological, the communalists say that the rules of the game are not absolutes, but working principles of oppression.

The person who sees as real what the culture defines as unreal could be locked up in a state institution. The student who is bored by apathetic teachers, and fails to attend school, is faced with punitive categorization as delinquent or retarded. To escape these artificial tags of identity, the counter communities have attempted to build open situations where the individual is free to be. As long as the individual respects the rights of others, he can be what he chooses. Where the old culture often subsumed personality to an all embracing label which denied the hidden aspects of the self, the communalists adopt a tolerant view toward what the old culture sees as deviance: "[It] assumes that if I know you steal or take dope or peddle your ass, that is all I know. There may be more to know; then again there may be nothing. The deviant may be perfectly decent in every other respect (Becker & Horowitz, 1970, p.14)."

Yet, the negation of definitions is but the first step toward a set of social affirmations. New social bonds are created to bridge the transition to a different world of behavior.

To dissolve the grip of the spurious culture, the counter communards have placed great emphasis on simplicity and primitivism as counter values. They have stripped society of its tarnished

veneer to seek the underlying meaning of life that restores wholeness. The movement brims with a nostalgia for wilderness, the simple life and honesty in relationships. To some it might seem that this nostalgia is an escape from the responsibilities of the present. But the search for simplicity is an effort to recover stability in a society that is rootless and ephemeral:

The fact that young people are looking backward does not mean that they are trying to go back in time--on the contrary, the tactic of looking backward probably represents the wave of the future...the recognition that time goes on does not entail the attempt to deliberately sever oneself from the past; indeed, it is this repudiation of the past that causes future shock, not the oncoming future (Kaufman, 1972, p.75).

Much of this new primitivism stresses the reestablishment of organic harmony between the self and world, and the individual and community. It looks at nature as the ground of being, and complex institutionalization as an artificial imposition upon that purity. Nature stands for not only the environment, but it also represents unfettered human nature, freedom, the wonder of a child and living in harmony with natural rhythms. To avoid the alienating fragmentation of the old culture, the insurgents seek new bonds to unite them with this encompassing vision of nature. Feeling and sensitivity to the body are stressed to undo the polarization between mind and body. Mystical and occult philosophies have arisen in an effort to reunite alienated man with the universe.

Socially, this drive toward harmony is found in the search for community. The communal impulse is central to the new counter

institutions. Whether it is the total society of the commune or simply a consciousness-raising group, the drive is to re-establish authentic social bonds. The primary bond that is emphasized is sharing (Fairfield, 1972, p.1). A return to a tribal intimacy and awareness, the ability to share with others in an open and honest manner, becomes the test of group stability. The group, whether commune or free school, attempts to awaken a tribal consciousness in the individual. Furthermore, the counter-institutional group represents the establishment of an extended family. The narrow role choice and selfishness of the nuclear family is disavowed and the responsibility of group-sharing and intimacy is part of the belief in the group as family.

Another factor in the tribal awareness is the deliberate attempt to minimize social roles "[C]ommunal societies specifically reject the concept of hierarchy or gradations of social status as unnecessary to the social order (Roberts, 1971, p.10)." Every task is equal and social roles are often interchangeable. In a commune, chopping wood is equal to cleaning the house. In a free school, the false distinctions between teacher and learner are often abandoned to decrease social distance.

In addition, there is the effort to demystify the myth of competence and professionalization. The counter institutions represent the democratizing of caring, reducing the need for professional "careers", like teachers or therapists. As Ray Mungo put it, "We are our own shrinks, you know, because we see each other all the

time and know the score....(Mungo, 1971, p.109)."

In this paper, I will examine four phases of what I call the counter environment, a new system of beliefs and counter institutions to care for people. I have divided this study into four areas--education, therapy, health care and utopias--but this is simply a convenience. For in the counter environment, the group experience breaks down artificial barriers that separate function from life. There is an intermeshing of tasks. The counter environment, whether a commune or a women's lib group, represents a situation that is at once therapeutic, utopian and educational.

11. FREE SCHOOLS

A free school is a place where kids of all ages and sizes jump out of the bus and burst in the door (this is a free day school) yelling "hurray!" and they drop their lunches anywhere and drop their coats in the floor, or else keep them on all day and immediately start their play or work whether or not the teachers are there yet....

Diane Cabarga
Monmouth Modern Day School
24 Union Hill Road
Morgantown, New Jersey 07751

A FREE SCHOOL IS NOT A SCHOOL. IT IS AN ATTITUDE OF AN INDIVIDUAL OR GROUP TO PURSUE THAT WHICH INTERESTS THEM. IT IS NOT AN INSTITUTION, BUT RATHER A NONCOMPULSORY ENVIRONMENT. FILLED WITH A GROWING CONCERN FOR MANKIND, THROUGH SELF-REVELATION.

BILL BROWKAW

A free school is a way of learning yourself into the possibilities of other learning. It is personally systematized and includes all those who make themselves available in a shared enterprise. Its organizational life is at the service of its human associations.

Hal Lenke
Box 143
Clifton Forge, Virginia 24422

I prefer the term organic schools. Organic implies a unity: the recognition that learning cannot be distinct from the living of one's life is both the point of coherence of the new, organic schools and the point of departure from authoritarian schools.

Brian Neilson
809 Spring Drive
Mill Valley, California 94941

Once it is accepted, a definition fixes boundaries. It hinders the perception of change and the possibility for change and the courage and desire for change. Growth is an important kind of change and the essence of living.

A free school is where and when defining takes place and definitions keep on taking place.

Lisa Sarasohn
Box 3661
Brown University
Providence, Rhode Island 02912

FREE SCHOOL IMPLIES A RE-ENTERING OR A REMAINING IN A SPACE ATMOSPHERE--IN ONE'S CHILDHOOD: A KIND OF DIFFICULT AND REALLY ENVIABLE THING TO DO.

MIMI DAILEY
444 THIRD STREET
SANTA ROSA, NEW MEXICO 88435

Living is a free school. Not necessarily vice-versa.

J. Nicolait
New Schools Exchange
Santa Barbara, California

(TAKEN FROM NEW SCHOOLS EXCHANGE NEWSLETTER, No. 60, pp. 5-6.)

Like the communes, the free school movement resists easy categorization. In principle, it is anarchic. The free school movement stems from a tradition that supports the independence of the student and the autonomy of each school. It resists a rigid ideological

posture that might turn the movement away from decentralization toward a para-institutional network. Its function is to provide an alternative to the institutional control of education, through decentralized units.

In one sense, the free school movement is a direct outgrowth of the counter culture ferment. In fact, most free schools are new; the majority have appeared since 1969. The majority of these schools are built upon the values that have characterized counter culture affirmations. But this view is only partly true, for the free schools equally stem from a long historical and radical tradition that includes the work of people like Rousseau, Dewey, Neill, Reich, and Perls.

The first question is defining what constitutes a free school. If we employ the criteria which will be used for communes and radical therapy, we run into problems. To say that a counter institution is one that is detached from the institutional system of America and independent of its financial support often does not apply to the free schools. Many free schools receive funds from the federal and municipal governments, in addition to grants from corporate foundations. Institutionally, while free schools are independent of the public schools, they still must make many accommodations to meet requirements placed on all educational establishments. The school's building is subject to building and fire codes. Most schools must comply with requirements of the State Boards of Education, which include certification of teachers, attendance

records, required courses and the right to grant diplomas. Through subterfuge some of the requirements can be faked (falsifying attendance reports or teaching a required subject in two hours), but nevertheless the free school is not completely free of institutional independence, but rather in terms of its relative freedom from the coercions employed in public schools. Its independence lies in its dialectical freedom, based upon the negation of those assumptions that define learning, discipline and intellect in the public school system.

Fine, but what are its assumptions? We would agree that there is no single ideology which characterizes the movement, for a rigid ideology would structurally limit spontaneity and alternatives. Nevertheless, many free schools acknowledge a collage of assumptions that bring some unity to the chaos.

Primarily they conceive of themselves as free--free from the public school ideology and free to allow the member to be. Peter Marin reveals some of the public school clamps placed on the students' freedom (Marin, 1969, p.65):

They manipulate them through the repression of energies; they isolate them and close off most parts of the community; they categorically refuse to make use of the individual's private experience. The direction of all these tendencies is toward a cultural schizophrenia in which the student is forced to choose between his own relation to reality or the one demanded by the institution. The schools are organized to weaken the student so that he is forced, in the absence of his own energies, to accept the values and demands of the institution. To this end we deprive the student of mobility and experience;

through law and custom we make the only legal place for him the school, and then, to make sure he remains dependent, manipulable, we empty the school of all vivid life.

Free schools emphasize free-flowing interaction, individual freedom and self-regulation of growth. At the First Street School, George Dennison believed the school's primary function was to create an environment of growth--human relationship was the heart of the school. When the conventional routines are abolished, the resulting chaos is stabilized by building upon the relationships between adults and children (Dennison, 1969, pp.4, 9). People, then, are the real structure of the free school; it is only as good as the interactions that occur. As one student of the Elizabeth Cleaners Street School said, "I didn't feel like we were starting a school. It felt as if we were starting a new life (Elizabeth Cleaners Street School, 1972, p.21)." The free school experience is a shared community feeling that slides out of definitions like "education," and becomes a total life experience.

Mutual respect enhances the appreciation of individual differences. The free school supports the romantic notion that each individual has his own unique style of learning. It refuses to accept labels like "slow learner" or "discipline problem," arguing that everyone learns at his own speed and often by bizarre means (Fort Wayne Folkschoolers, 1973, p.18). Thus, free schools resurrect the cliché of "do your own thing." Thereby, they eliminate the competition that characterizes public schools. The results are

mixed; sometimes inertia is created, other times a child is awakened to his fullest potential.

The emphasis on relationship and freedom returns childhood to the children. Rather than viewing children as an appendage to the adult world with its authoritarian paternalism, free schools allow children to experience their own needs in their own context (Snitzer, 1972, p.64). Dennison relates how he left the children to work out their own ethical problems on their own terms, arguing that values must be defined by one's peers, rather than being imposed by an authority figure (i.e., the teacher). By this process, many of the institutional coercions of the public school are reduced.

A negative attitude toward authority roles is characteristic of the movement. Roles are ambiguous in the free school context. The teacher is stripped of many of his role supports. There are no podiums, no rows of desks, no tests and no motivational goals of status and power. Nor is the teacher expected to be invulnerable or omniscient. Equally, the children are not required to attend classes, or submit to authority. At times, a teacher may become a student and vice versa. In the total community free school, roles are egalitarian because both students and teachers must work as laborers, cooks, housecleaners and friends in order to make the educational experience survive. Like the communes, many free schools see themselves as a community based on sharing, not on roles.

The attention given to free-flowing relationship and demystifying authority leads to a radical revision of the traditional

curriculum. The free schools reject many of the ingrained myths of public education. They challenge the assumptions of traditional education, such as that teaching produces learning. They also question the oppressive control of time and space in the public schools. Class periods, orderly rows of desks, all represent, they believe, an authoritarian structuring of individual freedom (Cooper, 1971, pp.60-63).

Free schools reject many of these controls and replace them with more free-flowing concerns based on individual needs. Experience and self become central. Herb Snitzer of the Lewis-Wadham School in New York expressed it aptly as "Life Education"--"Not education for life, but education through life, through living it fully at any given moment (Snitzer, 1972, p.134)." Education becomes equated with experience, rather than removed from it, as in courses which purport to teach objective content. In the free schools, education is seen as part of an organic style. It is a harmonious fusion of life, play, and school.

From this viewpoint, the content of traditional teaching and learning changes. Course material becomes more fluid and less structured. A group of students may express an interest in a subject and then go about finding a teacher to share and coordinate their discussions. At one free school, students designed and taught their own courses. Or a learning situation may arise from the interests of a teacher. He may choose a traditional content in which he is "skilled," or he may just relate his personal interests,

such as electronic music or pottery, and talk about them. Many of the free schools are activities-oriented rather than materials-oriented (Cooper, 1971, p.66). At Pacific High School in California, students were encouraged to go out and experience the world on their own, school was a place to come back to, to evaluate experiences. Thus, a high value was placed on class trips which often extended for weeks. Space is transformed as the world becomes the classroom.

This alteration of content changes the role of the teacher. The identity of the teacher as transmitter of content is changed into teacher as sharer (Rasberry and Greenway, 1972, p.41). The teacher no longer has all the answers, and must accept the fact that the class has the right to desert the teacher at any time. Also, many courses are simply discussion groups where students talk freely about a topic. The teachers often must accept the fact that "required" reading gets in the way of the child's personal developmental reading. The sense of living for the moment often strains duration of interest in course content. One teacher at the Elizabeth Cleaners Street School in New York said of this adjustment, "Perhaps the hardest thing for a teacher or for a student to cope with is the constant necessity of operating within a permanent state of flux from which order again and again must be galvanized anew (Elizabeth Cleaners Street School, 1972, p.148)."

Pacific High's experience is even more revealing. Classes there almost completely disappeared. Children would not attend classes unless there was coercion. As they worked harder at building

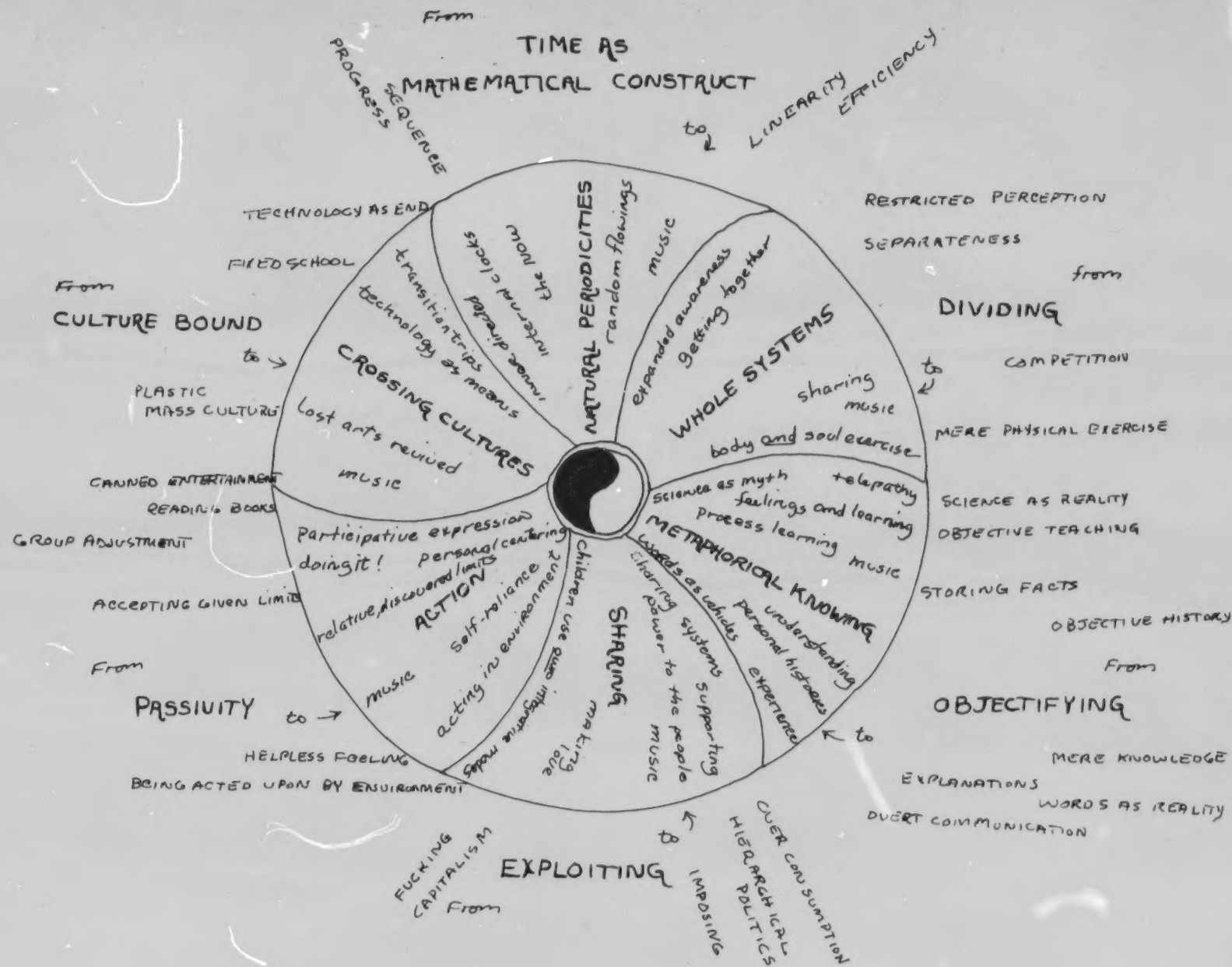


Figure 1: From the Old Ways Toward Changes. Raspberry and Greenway, 1972, p.43.

domes and mastering the survival of a total community, classes became less important. Teachers stopped saying, "I am teaching a course," because the students wouldn't come. Instead, they said, "I am doing something interesting, would you care to join me?" Another teacher at Pacific Huron discovered that the classes curtailed knowledge from life, "...it seems that there is a difference between having a class about a book and talking with some people about it (Kaye, 1972, p.143)." It appears that the more that the community function increases harmoniously, the more that classes break the flow of true learning.

The chart on the opposite page may make the free school approach to curriculum a bit more clear. (See Figure 1.)

Yet it is on the question of curriculum that the free school movement divides. Critics of the do-your-own-thing curriculum point out that it is the philosophy of an elite--of a displaced white middle class who can afford to be nonchalant toward education. Also, Jonathan Kozol argues it is not as free as it pretends, and asks:

Why is it, in so many of these places everyone always boasts that he is doing "his own thing" but everyone in each of these schools, from coast to coast, is always doing the same kind of thing? Why is it, we ask, that "free choice" proves in every case to mean the weaver's loom, tie-dye, or macrame.... How come it doesn't ever mean a passionate and searching look into the origins of unearned wealth that makes this segregated Free School possible?

It is, of course, because all teachers and all adults in these kinds of situations do in fact dictate the preferences and options of the children...by the very familiar and predictable clothes they wear and of the life styles they foster...by the physical location they have chosen, by the pupil tuition they establish, by the race and social class of the children they enroll. (Kozol, n.d., pp.18-19)

Kozol's vehemence stems from his experience with a free school which he started in 1966 for poor blacks in Boston. Kozol differs from many counter culture schools on the question of "hard skills" versus "you can't teach anything." Hard skills, he argues, such as reading, math and writing, are tools of survival for people trapped in the inner city. The people in the streets need the weapons of the hard skills in order to get the power to run their community and improve people's lives. Kozol protests that liberation and provocative education do not happen spontaneously, but only when people are willing to adhere to discipline and keep their eyes on the long range goals (Kozol, 1972, pp.35-101).

Kozol's beliefs are reflective of a growing trend of minority communities to begin their own schools. Freedom schools, though they stem from hostility to the public schools, are less concerned with individual freedom and open classrooms. Instead they seek to build academic skills, ethnic pride and community power. Bruce Cooper quotes one black freedom school leader citing the differences between free and freedom schools (Cooper, 1971, p.10):

We've had the togetherness! We were brought up in "communes" by aunts, brothers and grandmothers. In other words, we've got soul. What we want now is gold. To get it, we must have skills, tools and the resources to use them. Freedom [as defined by free school advocates] to us is meaningless unless we have the essentials of life....

Freedom schools are rooted in a coherent, organized, community situation. It may be, as in Bedford-Stuyvesant, the only social organization available to ghetto families. The freedom school thus becomes part of a community center, providing recreation, art and craft facilities and a political forum for the poor.

Structure and Growth

The free schools embody a very loose, informal structure. When beginning a free school, parents, children and teachers may meet to decide issues and programs. But as the school concretely emerges, parents often take a background role in policy, because it is the students' school. Of course, in an elementary level free school, contacts between parents and teachers are greater. But as the children get older, it is their school.

Most free schools avoid the issue of formal governance because the members share a hatred of power structures. Though some free schools have administrative boards, this is often a ploy to fill incorporation requirements, in order to gain a non-profit tax status. Most free schools are run by consensus and grass-roots democracy. Students and adults resolve issues and work assignments at weekly meetings. Governing is much more in the style of an oral tradition of agreement, rather than strict codification of principles.

The actual staff beyond the teachers is minimal. Since they abhor authority, they choose a coordinator rather than a principal, to give activities a focus. This selection may be a conscious or unconscious process. A leader may emerge or he may not, but the function of the leader is to take care of the problems of running the school and to help resolve interpersonal conflicts that arise and cannot be settled in the weekly meetings. At Lewis Wadhams, students were often chosen to be interchangeable coordinators; the leadership was very fluid and open. In addition, there may be a "voluntary staff" composed of parents, accountants, advisors and lawyers who assist the school without charge and thereby keep costs minimal.

In the freedom schools, governing is more formalized. Since it is a community organization, the school is ruled by a governing board of citizens and professionals. The role of residents is re-defined. Often they serve as "foster teachers" who function to aid students and parents in a storefront, for example. In this situation, there is an emphasis upon student-parent-teacher linkages which may involve forming interest groups to create credit unions or find summer camps for the children. The professional is respected in the freedom school organization and given autonomy to administer programs subject to board approval (Wilcox, 1969, pp.132-136).

Funding in free schools is based largely upon tuition, contributions, fund raising drives and foundation grants. The tuition, which ranges from a token fee to \$3000 per year, is the major source

of revenue. Many expensive free schools employ a sliding scale of tuition to allow the poorer students to attend. Sometimes a free school in an urban area is able to acquire government funds if it has training programs for the disadvantaged. For example, the Independent Learning Center in Milwaukee received funds from the Justice Department.

Since most freedom schools are located in a Model Cities area they are able to tap many federal and state sources of money. Also, foundations are particularly sensitive to ethnic minorities and distribute grants to groups like the East Harlem Block Schools. Freedom schools are eligible to receive money from the Emergency School Assistance Program and food programs, and for ancillary programs like addiction centers and day care centers.

The Future

Free schools, like any other counter institution, face adjustment problems in the transition from one cultural system to another. The students are freed from an authoritarian system and placed in an unstructured situation. Many students experience panic and fear caused by the sudden shift of value systems. Students often continue to equate learning with classes, and feel deprived when the class does not produce tangibles like grades, papers and lectures. Also, students are reticent to assume the democratic control of their school. They are amazed that leadership is in their hands and often shirk the responsibility, placing it in the hands of the adults who are seen as authority figures. Yet, if these transitions

can be eased by a strong group commitment to the school as a community, the chances of continuing are high. Cooper's survey indicates that over 88 per cent of the new free schools have survived (Cooper, 1971, p.56).

The other question pertains to the future after the initial chaos is ordered. What will the schools become? The possibility arises that their innovations will be absorbed by the public schools. In the Berkeley, California, School District funds are already allocated to free programs and free schools can use a limited number of public school classrooms. Perhaps, like the early Progressive schools, the free school will be absorbed by a more experimental attitude by the public schools. Another possibility is that the movement toward decentralizing and deschooling may result in the transformation of educational facilities into learning environments where the concept of education will be a total life experience. The final possibility is that the schools will stabilize at a certain point and solidify their innovations within a more formal, para-institutional context.

III. RADICAL THERAPY

Radical therapy is the offshoot in psychology of the same tensions and affirmations that have marked the emergence of other counter institutions. Its roots lie in a phenomenological analysis of the place of traditional psychotherapy within mainstream culture. Instead of asking questions from within, the radical therapy movement has looked at the totality of psychotherapy from without. Its critique has focused on three basic issues: the role of the therapist, the ties between therapy and the society at large, and the meaning of the normal self. Discovering that the answers to these probes entail a challenge to the functional system of therapy, the radicals have often moved from the large scale cultural institutions to smaller groups to actualize their conceptions of self and adjustment. The spectrum of these counter institutions embraces collective communes, women's liberation groups, telephone hot-lines, and crisis centers for youth. Radical therapy groups also have worked within the system, attempting to radicalize mental patients, setting up drug detoxification centers and establishing rap sessions in mental hospitals.

The ideology of radical therapy begins with a probing rejection of conventional society. Psychiatry is viewed as but one arm of the oppressing power structure of the established culture. It is argued that traditional therapy turns people's focus away from society toward their own inabilities to adjust to the status quo. Thus, blame for failure rests on the person, not the social

system. Failure to make this adjustment to "normal" social reality results in the individual being labeled neurotic or, at the most extreme, being placed in a total institution for an indefinite amount of time.

The radical therapists believe that mainstream society is an oppressive environment that fosters the alienation and depersonalization of the self. The individual is normalized to a system of beliefs that are contrary to basic human needs. Adjustment to this civilized madness results in the acceptance of a dog-eat-dog ethic, a merciless pursuit of wealth and the devaluation of human life by racism and violence (Gelb, 1972, p.195). Genuine human needs are replaced by a set of spurious needs which are dictated by patterns of mass consumption and the advertising industry. Plugging in to such a system, the individual finds himself whirling in a furious process that obliges a fearful amount of conformity. The individual must obey his teachers or he will not get a good job, he must obey his employers or he will not get good pay and he must consume or else what's the purpose of it all? The deviant who refuses to live by these dictates often faces either expulsion to the lower rungs of society or exile to a leper's colony where institutional definitions become the spots on his skin.

Radical therapists believe social oppression is at the core of the "dis-eased" personality. Oppression represents the power, or the thinly veiled threat of coercion, which provides the true cohesion of the system. In traditional therapy, there is the power relationship between therapist and patient; one is up

while the other one is down (Radical Therapist Collective, 1971, p.xii). Oppression in psychiatry continues at the institutional level where failure to conform to the standards of normality can result in the use of treatment as control. From Thorazine to electro-shock, the recalcitrant individual is reminded that therapy entails obedience to hierarchy. In addition the language of institutional oppression becomes twisted into doublethink. The disturbed individual is placed in a coercive institutional situation which may further warp his sanity, under the pretext that the staff (or teachers, administrators, etc.) has only his best interests at heart: "Specifically this devastation is largely the work of violence that has been perpetrated on each of us....The usual name that much of this violence goes under is love (Laing, 1967, p.58)."

The result is alienation. People become alienated from their bodies, their minds and their fellow men. It is the goal of radical therapy to remove the oppressive factors that create this alienation.

A key facet of this revolt is a re-evaluation of the role of the therapist. Radical therapy revolts from the medical model of mental illness, arguing that psychological disorders are not an objective disease but an expression of the dominant social ideology.

As Thomas Szasz notes:

The psychiatrist thus cannot, and does not stand apart from the person he observes, as the pathologist can and often does. The psychiatrist is committed to some picture of what he considers reality, and to what he thinks society considers reality, and he observes and judges the patients' behavior in the light of these beliefs (Szasz, 1973, p.18).

If the ideology that the therapist represents is but a mirror of the status quo, the client faces adjustment to a social system that is corrupt and spurious. As many women have found, mainstream psychology is often defiantly hostile to the liberation of females. Backed by the male supremacist viewpoint of Freud, Erickson, and others, the woman is forced to adjust to a social role prescribed by her genitals. She must be passive, domestic and a child-bearer. To revolt from this role is seen by mainstream therapists as a sign of disorder. The therapist, as a mediator between social value and the personality, thus stands at a critical junction for liberating or further oppressing the personality. As one psychiatrist states it (Gelb, 1972, p.198):

[W]e have often unwittingly imposed our own bias and our own special interest values on our patients so that they may 'get along' in our society. This seems right to many of us, even though to 'get along' in our corrupt society may not really be the most healthy and productive way of living. Because it seems right to us, we rationalize it as 'human nature.' We have tried to prove that humans are, by instinct, aggressive, competitive, predatory, narcissistic, 'territorially acquisitive,' etc. Then we have sat back and helped one patient after another to 'face the truth' (our 'truth') about human nature and the need to control it as much as possible.

In addition, radicals challenge the role of the therapist. The therapist often establishes a parent/child relationship with the client, furthering the sense of individual powerlessness. He is supported by the myths of specialized competence and professionalism that pervade society. The individual is led to believe that even the most ordinary of human conflicts cannot be personally solved

without the intervention of the "specialist" (Henley & Brown, 1973, p.76). Therapy thus becomes another product in the consumer society. We buy emotions that we believe we do not possess--"From a position of confusion and inferiority, therapy customers try to purchase from the therapist understanding, sympathy, support, and respect.... (Henley & Brown, 1973, p.67)."

The task of radical therapy is to redefine the role of the therapist and the meaning of therapy. Claude Steiner, a key figure in the movement, stated the postulates of radical therapy in three equations (Steiner, 1971, p.3):

OPPRESSION + DECEPTION = ALIENATION

OPPRESSION + AWARENESS = ANGER

AWARENESS + CONTACT = LIBERATION

Briefly translated, radical therapy states that alienation is the essence of all psychiatric conditions and it is the consequence of an oppressive society which creates false values that separate man from himself and his community. Realization of this oppression results in anger at one's condition which is the first step away from alienation. Once awareness has been reached, the individual requires contact with a consciousness-raising group, which supports the quest for a new identity.

Of course, the flesh often changes the structure of an idealized skeleton. The definitions of awareness, oppression and the group vary with the situation. Oppression may represent a specific condition such as homosexuality or feminine liberation, and the

group will be formed to create solidarity for those oppressed. Or oppression may be much more diffuse, and represent a general discontent with mainstream culture. In this case, the group may represent a womb for members who are attempting to make a smooth transition between the old culture and the counter community.

The function of the therapeutic group is to explore a problematic area with concerned individuals. Composed of between eight to twelve people and one or two radical therapists, the bulk of problem solving goes on in contractual groups. People in the group create contracts for proposed goals of their therapy. The group engages in a series of techniques to liberate their awareness. These include role playing, stroke economy games, play therapy, and transactional dialogue (Steiner, 1971, p.13). Much of the therapy is organized around the parent/child dichotomy. Members analyze the ways in which societal authoritarianism (symbolized by the phrase "Pig Parent") has oppressed the creative part of the person, the child, with power-laden servility. Members attempt to understand their place in the social adaption demanded by the culture (Wycoff, 1971, p.8).

Critical to the emergence of the counter-institutional therapy environment is the redefinition of the therapist. The aim is to demystify the cult of specialization and to return therapy to a more democratic function. Steiner states it quite simply: "Psychiatry is the art of soul healing" and anyone who performs this is a psychiatrist (1971, p.3). Thus, radical therapy recognizes

that nonprofessional volunteers, members of a peer group or sensitive individuals are fully able to practice therapy. This is not to deny that therapy requires skills; the protest is against a system that emphasizes the role sanctions of therapy. Radicals believe that therapy skills should be shared with people, so that knowledge is opened up and taken away from the elites in psychology (Glenn, 1973, p.73). It is argued that the role of the therapist enhances the class systems in society. The therapist is always removed from the situation and treats the individual as an object. Radical therapy attempts to dissolve the dichotomy of therapist/client and replace it with a community of equals, both parties struggling for their own liberation together: "If we understand people's fears, and see a commonality in our respective struggles, they will cease to see us as 'specialists' and we will cease to see them as patients (Henley & Brown, 1973, p.79)."

The counter institutional form that this ideology takes varies widely. Throughout the United States, there are approximately 200 to 300 rap centers, which are essentially free clinics focused around psychological services and counseling. These are generally either neighborhood clinics or street people's clinics. The neighborhood clinic deals with all types of people and problems, from psychological distress to finding jobs for their clients. It also attempts to construct a community, making people realize that individual problems are often collective problems. The street people's

clinics have much the same aim, but their target population is generally restricted to the most disadvantaged, the homeless, and the runaways of the counter community.

Financing is generally a haphazard affair, depending upon private grants and voluntary contributions; but even those sources are dwindling. Many current rap centers are finding themselves in financial and ideological crisis. In Boston two of the centers are considering getting NIMH grants to survive, which raises serious questions of co-optation by the very system they despise. In addition, many rap centers have shifted their caring functions to a different population. At first, their main target group was the white psychedelic middle class, but then as the street people began coming more and more from the lower class, some rap centers shifted to "alternatives." Instead of providing help for all strata of the counter-community, some rap centers' alternatives were group communes, food co-ops, yoga and meditation centers. Also, many of the centers have failed to produce adequate drug treatment programs, which cuts them off from the black and brown communities (Glenn, 1972, p.13). The goal of independence from the mainstream financial system and toleration for all segments of the community appears to have diminished in some groups of the counter community.

The most sophisticated form of the rap center is the therapy collective. It is a total community in which members and counselors live and solve their problems together. But it is not isolated; the therapy collective is the focus of a caring network that often includes

a crisis telephone hot line, encounter groups, liaisons with community high schools, and a temporary crash pad for the homeless. One group, Changes, a community help collective in Chicago, defined their function as follows (Glaser & Gendlin, 1973, p.31):

For us, community is a bunch of people with whom you can carry your living forward in a growing way, and take the steps that are next in your life. We view hangups not so much as bad stuff inside someone, rather as messed-up relations or dead relations between people and as more living that [sic] needs to happen. So there isn't a difference for us between helping people inside or outside themselves. What we need and give each other is support, not just in a general emotional way but with whatever each of us is up against, whether it's scared of going crazy or not able to face moving one's stuff to a new apartment. There isn't a line for us between psychological and situational troubles, either way it's about trying to live.

An examination of one therapy collective will give some insight into the functional basis of the community. "Number-Nine" is a crisis counter-institution in New Haven, which was founded in 1969 by former mental health workers who were tired of the exploitation of that system. Dealing with over five thousand young people annually, Number Nine is often involved with all aspects of a crisis situation, not just counseling but families, jobs and schools. They believe that this community involvement is as important as psychotherapy for releasing personality changes (Clark & Jaffe, 1972, p.231).

It views itself as a family rather than an institution. As an extended family, its relationships are structured around the bond of brother and sister, rather than the authoritarian relationship of

parent and child. They see themselves as a group of equals, where everyone helps everyone else on common survival problems (Clark & Jaffe, 1972, p.214). The real control of the organization is, then, in the hands of the young people themselves. Artificial role and hierarchic separations are minimized, because everyone must work toward the survival of the group.

The attempt to downplay roles of staff and clients breaks down many of the false and jargon-laden barriers that impede openness. While staff receive enough salary to live on, and must make organizational decisions, beyond that point their professional role becomes ambiguous. Unlike mainstream therapy no structural limits are placed on relationships: "...staff members see themselves as just relating. Personal experiences and feelings are freely reciprocated...The emphasis is shared between being helpful and enjoying oneself (Clark & Jaffe, 1972, p.227)."

It is this ambiguity in structure and interaction that keeps Number Nine open and free to experiment. It utilizes relationships which may not even be defined as counseling, in order to help people. Within this context of growth and openness persons who show schizophrenic symptoms elsewhere are quite normal. In the counter institution there is no need to assume the role of "being sick."

Another form of a therapy collective has grown out of the work of R. D. Laing and the antipsychiatry movement in England. Antipsychiatry is concerned with the causes and cure of psychosis and schizophrenia. It rebels against many of the cliches of

schizophrenia, and argues that it is a label that objectifies the person, depriving him of full human status (Laing, 1967, p.122). It results in a failure to treat the person as a reality, as an existential experience, and consequently results in a failure of communication. Rather than resisting this process by inert strategies and categories, the antipsychiatrists flow with the process of dysfunction, allowing the person to fully experience the process and then slowly re-emerge to sanity.

Through the auspices of the Philadelphia Association, the antipsychiatrists established a number of "households" in the London area, from 1966-1969, where the individual was given the freedom to experience chaos; Kingsley Hall, the most well-known of the households, was structured similarly to other therapy collectives. People in the households made their own rules; there were spaces for communal gatherings and individual cells for privacy. There was no overt psychiatric diagnosis in order to avoid the labeling of a person into a set category of behavior. Equally, there was a breakdown of the binary roles of doctor or nurse versus patient. The members were simply people, and the praxis of the experience was that the person undergoing a crisis knew that another person was there to accompany him on the journey through the self. As David Cooper expressed it (Cooper, 1971, p.57): "the communities are places for people to be, and not places to be treated."

Kingsley Hall allowed people to return to chaos. It was a movement of going back, regressing to an archaic behavior often

bordering on the pre-natal. The self disintegrated as the person touched a mythic, primordial chaos. From this state, the person moved forward to a rebirth of self. Out of chaos, a genesis of the personality took place. Laing called this process "metanoia" (a change of mind) and argued that it is only possible in the deinstitutionalized, communal setting. Other settings might conceivably arrest the process at chaos and maintain the experience at a psychotic level (Laing, 1972, pp.11-12). Of course not everyone goes through this extreme journey. They came to Kingsley Hall to work out their problems in an environment apart from the outside world.

While Kingsley Hall ceased operations in August, 1969, Laing and Cooper's ideas have been revived in the United States. In May, 1971, Soteria House was opened in San José, California. Funded by a two year NIMH grant, Soteria House's founders are testing the hypothesis that schizophrenia is an altered state of consciousness and that the individual's apparent madness is an identity crisis which must be worked through rather than repressed. By going through the experience of madness, the resident is able to experience rather than repress a growth process.

Patients for the experiment are selected from individuals who are about to be admitted to the psychiatric ward of a community mental health clinic. These residents' psychological growth is compared with a control group that enters the psychiatric ward. People are never brought in Soteria House or discharged without their own consent.

The staff is composed of professional and para-professional individuals. Most staff members live communally with the residents. They envision their roles as guides, not therapists or teachers. Staff members believe that the residents have valid reasons for going mad and that their function is to give support for the disorienting process undergone by the residents. The community ethic aims to establish a close relationship between staff and residents, rather than turning individuals into the objective roles of therapists and patient (Shapiro, 1973, p.135).

There is also the attempt for radical therapy collectives to invade the institutions of mental health. Former mental health patients are organizing to protect the rights of people incarcerated in state hospitals (see Appendix). People are also invading repressive hospitals.

In 1970, about 50 people of the New York City community "entered" St. Luke's Hospital which had been notably lax in the treatment of drug addicts. The group seized the offices of the division of community psychiatry and set up a walk-in heroin detoxification center. They demanded additional beds for addicts and taught the community how to detoxify addicts. Their action put public pressure on the hospital administration. The hospital granted concessions, setting up a satellite addiction service in the community and granting more beds for addicts (Kunnes, 1972, pp.199-209).

The radical therapy movement represents an array of tried techniques that are linked against an ideology of oppression. Unlike more traditional forms of therapy, the radical movement is as much an attempt to analyze the meaning of social repression as it is an attempt to heal the soul of an individual. If the movement continues to attract more people, its variety of techniques and values may produce a new conception of the individual, a new model of mental normality. From Laing's challenge to the treatment of schizophrenia to the attempt to overthrow the hierarchy of client/patient, radical therapy represents a significant attack on the concept of the normal self and on the nature of the psychological adjustment to social reality. Along with the other counter-institutional groups, radical therapy is offering a new paradigm of social sanity which may shake the pillars of social order.

IV. FREE HEALTH CLINICS

The free clinic movement is the medical response by radicals to the crushing, totalitarian inhumanity of the national health industry. Like its counterparts in education and psychology, free clinics represent a nascent attempt to decentralize, deinstitutionalize, deprofessionalize and demystify the nation-wide health empire. Advocates of the free clinics want a medical system that is egalitarian, cost-free at the point of delivery, and controlled by the community it serves. In addition, they wish to remove the structural biases that prevent health services from reaching those who need them most and receive them last.

Free clinics are part of a multi-faceted attack against a health industry that places profits before people and self-interest before genuine care. Their advocates stress that the American health system is a medical-industrial complex that discriminates against the poor, women and social deviants.

Central to the radical attack is the characterization of American medicine as a health empire with its hub in the medical schools, and extending outward in a network of research, installations, hospitals, medical service industries and county medical societies. Radicals argue that the power of these interrelated institutional units dictates that: "the priorities be located where the profits are found (Levy, 1971, p.51)." Often research money is spent on extremely rare diseases, while avoiding basic research on diseases like sickle-

cell anemia, which plague black people. In addition, funds are spent on expensive technical products like renal dialysis units or cardiac transplant apparatus, instead of on simpler procedures that could save more lives, like child care programs, treatment centers for alcoholics or heroin addicts, or lead poisoning testing kits for children. Radicals believe that, given the profit motive, medicine is not neutral and value free, but a sad reflection on the distorted humanism that plagues American society. While health care is sorely in need of more general practioners, doctors rush into specialities which bring high profits but often serve only the few, who are generally white and adequately insured.

In addition, health care is surrounded by the mystique of the doctor, the holy man in white, who is privy to secrets to which patients have no access. Doctors often hand down their judgments authoritatively and the patient has no choice in the matter. The patient is often given no means to judge what form of health care they should receive, facing the arrogance of the physicians's "I'm the doctor, not you," attitude. The patient has little recourse and often virtually no consumer protection. Women are particularly vulnerable to this when facing the choice of birth control options. Many times doctors do not fairly present the alternatives, but dictate what method they must choose. Often for poor black women doctors assume the best choice is hysterectomy, believing it would be too taxing for an uneducated woman who has already had too many children to remember to take her pill each day (Ehrenreich and

Ehrenreich, 1970, pp.10-15). Similarly, addicts are often forced to use the state-sanctioned methadone.

This denial of patient rights is often felt most poignantly by the poor and by other social outcasts. The best advice for them may have been given by CBS television documentary called--"Don't Get Sick in America." Medicine is based upon a middle class value system, and consequently it is the middle class that receives the best health care. The middle class are respectable, with respectable diseases, they pay their bills on time and have adequate health insurance. Yet, medicine has not figured out how to transcend these biases and deliver health care that suits other populations that live differently (Smith, Luce, Dernburg, 1970, p.35). Health care for poor patients is often confined to clinics, where many blacks and Puerto Ricans complain of being treated like animals. The poor get fewer explanations, less privacy and less care than solvent whites. This combination of poverty and racism often makes the poor vulnerable to exploitation; they become the guinea pigs for interns who quickly forget about treating them when they have finished their internship. One poor black adolescent girl in New York City reported for her first prenatal checkup and suddenly found herself surrounded by medical students who used her as a teaching object for pelvic examinations (Ehrenreich and Ehrenreich, 1970, p.17).

This institutional prejudice extends beyond color lines to include many deviants who are ignored or mistreated by the medical

establishment. The founding of the first free clinic in Haight-Ashbury was spurred by the indifference of many San Francisco doctors and hospitals to health problems peculiar to hippies. Diseases like hepatitis, gonorrhea, body lice and bad trips were treated condescendingly by the doctors. Physicians often looked on the freaks as if they were subhuman. When the hippies went to the Park Emergency Hospital freaked out on bad trips, they were often subjected to sermons, drawn-out referral processes or immediate telephoning to the police. Ambulance drivers conveniently "forgot" to answer emergency calls to the Haight section (Smith and Luce, 1971, p.28). This situation led David Smith, a founder of the Haight-Ashbury clinic, to conclude of the hospitals: "They and other staff members apparently believe the best way to stamp out sickness in the Haight is to let its younger residents destroy themselves (1970, p.38)."

Given the racism, inequality and financial elitism of institutional medicine, the outcasts of the system were left with few choices. They could either continue to subject themselves to substandard medical care or they could break off and form their own health services. Out of this discontent, counter forms emerged. An early forerunner of the free clinic movement was the Watts Clinic in Los Angeles, formed after the riots in 1965. In addition, the Vietnam War and the growing discontent with the system, led some young doctors to shift their allegiance toward more humane goals. These doctors grew their hair long, questioned the profit motive of medicine and began to search for means to aid the poor and dispossessed

in American society. One result was the Medical Committee on Human Rights. Believing that it was practicing preventive medicine, the Committee gave medical draft deferrals to potential inductees. Their logic was that since it was medicine's duty to save lives, their deferral letters helped to prevent battlefield casualties.

Another development was the formation of the Health Policy Advisory Center (Health-PAC). This group grew out of an expose of New York City hospitals published in 1967 by Robb Burlage. In 1968, Burlage and a small staff began to publish the Health-PAC Bulletin which was a clearinghouse for the latest developments in the growing health movement. Increased awareness has now allowed Health-PAC to expand its activities to include educational projects, seminars on community health and technical assistance to community health workers.

But it was the free clinic movement that provided the strongest stab at the medical establishment. With the large-scale growth of the Love generation and the "tune in, turn on, drop out" philosophy, many communities in the late 1960's faced a new breed of people whose problems, both medical and psychological, placed them in a pariah condition. The young dropouts, with unique health problems, extreme mobility, and distrust of institutional health services were often left at the mercy of police, mental health agencies or local "witch-doctors" who prescribed everything from macrobiotics to greater doses of LSD. Out of fear, many people stayed away from doctors and hospitals, treating their pains with narcotics or hallucinogens.

The first seisms of this crisis were felt in the Haight-Ashbury area of San Francisco during the early part of 1967. With the first Human Be-In of January, 1967, many felt the sense of a new beginning, the start of a mutant group who would not abide by the dictates of straight America. As the vibrations of San Francisco flowed out electronically to the rest of the country, thousands of people began pouring in to the Bay area. Conditions worsened, as crash pads were overflowing and sanitation was poor. The Diggers were predicting that 100,000 people would be coming to Haight for a "Summer of Love." This threat posed a crisis of epidemic proportions to city officials who sought to eliminate the disaster by repression.

It was this public indifference and the hostility to the younger transient generation that led doctors Ernest Dernburg and David Smith to formulate their own solution. Dernburg, a psychiatrist, had earlier worked with the Beats, but he felt the hippies were different; they seemed more depressed and anxious than the former. Yet, Dernburg did not believe they could be called deviants or psychopaths, so he tried to understand them in terms of their own value system. Smith, who was conducting experiments in hallucinogens and amphetamines, believed that with the outbreak of bad trips, the Haight residents faced a psychological crises of acute proportions. Both men appealed to city governments for financial aid to combat the crisis, but they were ignored. While the Public Health Department failed to intervene, the crisis was

accelerated. Public officials refused to provide funds to open a clinic in the Haight area. The risk of arrest at San Francisco General Hospital and the failure of its screening unit to remain open after 5 P.M. meant that many freaks were often locked up as alcoholics or thrown into padded cells (Smith, Luce, 1971, p.134).

The crisis prompted Smith and Dernburg to open the Haight-Ashbury Free Medical Clinic in the spring of 1967. With the motto "Love Needs Care", the clinic, from the start, was overflowing with patients. Within its confines was a medical clinic, a calm center (for those having bad drug trips), and a Happening House for psychological counseling. Later, as the clinic became more established, a dental clinic was added.

Funding and supplies were a haphazard affair. The doctors and volunteers scavenged for medical supplies and received pharmaceuticals from drug salesmen. To increase community awareness of the clinic, they passed out pamphlets that advertised the clinic and asked other people to spread news of it by word of mouth.

As the clinic faced the onrush of youth from all parts of the country, in 1967 it began to run low on medical supplies and manpower. But an article in the San Francisco Chronicle on the health emergency saved them. The story brought phone calls from other physicians who offered their services and more importantly, it brought money to replenish funds. In addition, the clinic began to attract many professionals. Counselors, psychologists, nurses and doctors who were dissatisfied with the health monopoly began to

volunteer their services or work for extremely low wages. As a result of the influx of money and manpower, the clinic at its peak was treating five times as many patients as Park Emergency Hospital at one fifth the cost (Luce, Smith, 1971, p.169).

Since the clinic was a reflection of the Haight community and its needs, shifts in the group structure and life styles caused changes in the patient population and their health problems. In the beginning, the clinic treated the love generation who consumed particular drugs particular to their life style. But late in the summer of 1967, there was a shift in both client population and chemical consumption. More and more of the hippies were leaving the urban scene and fleeing to the country. In addition, LSD was becoming scarce and the drug fad shifted to amphetamines. Haight was falling apart. A new population was supplanting the love generation, who sanctioned crime and violence, who were addicted to speed, and created holocaust through the community. The result was that the Haight clinic rapidly lost its base of support. The clinic held rock concert benefits to keep itself going, but it could not raise enough support and on September 22, it closed down.

On November 1, it was able to reopen, due to a donation of \$30,000 and art sales. The clinic had changed. Since the area was rapidly becoming America's first teen-age slum, fewer people were using the clinic. This decreased patient load meant that more attention could be given to patients and more doctors would be on hand. Also, there was a shift in staff, a family feeling and intimacy

was growing. The new staff was younger, but they were isolated in the community and one result was the creation of a therapeutic community within the confines of the clinic.

I have dealt at length with the Haight Free Clinic because it demonstrates some of the problems that occur when a group attempts to defy the established institutions and to reflect more accurately the needs of the community it serves. Free medical clinics face a plethora of crises that, if weathered, can produce group solidarity. But if the problems of finances, volunteers and a changing client population are not met, the goodwill that started the movement may rapidly evaporate. Also, since the free clinic is an instrument of its immediate community, it must be sensitive and responsive to the specific health and psychological needs of that community.

Currently, there are 200 to 300 free clinics in the United States. Most of them arose as a result of the wave of black power, counter culture egalitarianism and the demand for community control of institutions. Their ideology is similar to that of other counter institutions. The free clinics' aims are (1) to establish health care as a right independent of financial need, (2) to provide comprehensive health services in decentralized settings, (3) to demystify medicine, (4) to deprofessionalize health care to the point where the lay person can share and utilize medical skills, and (5) to create community/worker control of community health organizations (Bloomfield and Levy, 1972, p.35).

Most free clinics are found in an urban setting. At first, a free clinic's clients are the hip drop-outs in the area, but as it settles into the community, the clinic begins to serve the neighborhood as a whole. Generally, clinics are located in awkward layouts, e.g., in a storefront, in a church basement, or in the house of a multi-purpose therapeutic community. There is normally a reception room with a conspicuous donation can, three or four examining rooms and a modest laboratory and pharmacy.

Free health clinics are dependent upon donations and the responsiveness of the community. Generally labor is freely given by doctors and volunteers. Delivery of medical care is totally dependent upon the goodwill of those involved. Because the bulk of labor comes from non-professionals, the life style of the free clinic staff resembles that of the patients' more closely than in any other medical institution. One key area is volunteer and doctor relationships; the emphasis is placed on the transfer of skills in order to demystify medicine. Some clinics teach courses on health care to the lay staff and community. However, in most clinics, apprentices learn medical skills by observing what the doctor is doing. This transfer of skills reduces the doctor's burden and increases the egalitarian structure of the clinic. In some clinics, all volunteers are able to take blood pressures, read vital signs and do pregnancy tests.

Another innovation of the free clinic is the use of a patient advocate. Every patient is assigned an advocate by the

receptionist. The advocate takes the patient's medical history, explains the purpose of the clinic and introduces the patient to the doctor. Often, the advocate may be present during the doctor's examination in order to be certain that the doctor is aware of the patient's needs and to be sure that the doctor is courteous and explains what he is doing. The advocate has the right to challenge the doctor about costs or about the diagnosis. A further responsibility of the patient advocate is the follow-up procedure. The advocate makes sure that prescription is filled and may accompany the patient to a clinic or hospital for further treatment. Theoretically the advocate represents a radical innovation in medical services, however, in actual practice, the advocate is simply an expeditor.

The average annual budget of a free clinic is approximately \$30,000. Money is obtained by pledges, panhandling on the streets and through a donation can in the office. Also, since many free clinics are in the poor sections of a city, patients are eligible for Medicaid reimbursements. Supplies are obtained through ingenuity. Often, friends of the clinic will "liberate" equipment from hospitals for the use of the clinic. Equipment is also donated and purchased inexpensively from doctors' widows. Pharmaceutical salesmen are coaxed to supply generous samples of their wares. Virtually all free clinics receive penicillin from the public health departments for the treatment of venereal disease. The counter cultural practice of barter is also used to reduce costs. A patient pays for medical

services by donating his or her particular skills to the clinic. The clinic often establishes an underground referral network with the institutionalized medical system. Free clinic doctors can provide cheap, hassle-free access to the larger medical system for skills the clinic is unable to provide. Through friends or through making other doctors feel guilty, the clinic is able to further reduce costs and provide sophisticated medical care.

Decision making in the free clinics is based upon a community/worker control concept. Basic decisions occur on many levels on a daily basis. When there are larger policy decisions, a committee of volunteers and doctors is called to settle the issue. Surprisingly, doctors have a small function in the overall decision process. There have been few instances of a doctor takeover of a clinic and doctors play a relatively minor role in decision making. However the goal of community control has not been realized. Power over a clinic is not diffused through the community it serves; rather it is still in the hands of the staff (Bloomfield and Levy, p.40).

Free medical clinics can mount one of the most sustained attacks against the domination of the American health establishment. Their services are desperately needed by all classes of people. Free clinics have broken down some of the elitist boundaries that separate the hip from the straight community. Unlike the often frivolous, exclusivist and luxurious indifference of segments of the free school and communal movements, free clinics are an effort to work with all people in their immediate community.

However, free clinics still face large problems of financing and co-optation. In January of 1972, a convention was held for the National Free Clinic Council (NFCC). Ostensibly, the purpose of the meeting was to exchange information and centralize communications. But there were serious questions that loomed in the background. The NFCC convention was financed by HEW and by Pfizer Pharmaceuticals. Roger Smith, the representative of the Haight clinic, seemed to push for free clinics becoming a member of the health services establishment and having a full-time NFCC lobbyist in Washington. The real purpose of the conference, as it developed, was to get a one million dollar grant from a Presidential special action office for drug abuse work. Many members left the conference in disgust. The reality of lobbyists, playing mendicant to Washington and having the conference sponsored by the establishment left many people confused as to how "counter" the free clinics actually were (Bloomfield and Levy, June, 1972, pp.8, 16-17).

Yet, as the clinics can gain greater community support and a strong financial basis, they stand an excellent chance of beginning the decentralization of health services. At this time, though, few clinics are in a position to make an all-out assault on institutionalized medicine. Money and community support is needed to provide services for door to door TB testing, for lead poisoning test kits for children, and for countless other projects. Until this group awareness is truly awakened, the free clinics must remain an important alternative to the basic delivery of general health services.

V. COMMUNES

A discussion of communes entails some large problems. What we state about one commune may not apply to another. There is no way to build a model of a commune and assume that it is the "definitive" summation of the experience. There are rural communes, urban collectives, law communes, religious communes, group marriage communes, Skinner farms, free school communes, women's lib communes, artists' collectives and anarchist communes. Some communes practice raw democracy, while others are run by a benevolent despot. Some communes embrace technology and some refuse to use it. Since the commune represents a total way of life for a particular group of people, what works for one group may destroy another. Each commune strongly desires to be unique and individualistic, thus avoiding the sameness of the American melting pot.

Given this diversity, it is virtually impossible to present an orderly, paragraph by paragraph description of a state of unique anarchy. Instead, I will simply present a collage of vignettes about communal life. Statements by members, descriptions of a few communities, and some scholarly insights will, I think, better represent the situation as it stands today, than an attempt at spurious coherence.

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Twin Oaks Commune. Modeled loosely after B. F. Skinner's utopia of Walden Two, Twin Oaks began as an urban commune in 1966, but moved to rural Virginia a year later. At first the members were without a government, believing everything would take care of itself; but as disputes increased, they created a board of planners who dispensed duties through a manager. When there are complaints against another member, an appointed "Generalized Bastard" carries the gripes to the person, rather than allowing personal hostilities to erupt.

Twin Oaks is not really a model of Skinnerian theory. Although there is a work ethic, labor credits (the most unpleasant work gets the highest amount of credits and vice versa) and "managers" for different tasks, the members believe that the communal experience itself is the major reinforcement factor. A system of mutual criticism is employed, in which a person sits in silence as all the other members tell what they like and dislike about the individual.

Financial problems beset the commune. Although it only costs approximately \$700. a year per member, the community is not self-sufficient. There is a thriving hammock factory, but eight members, on a rotating basis, are forced to work outside the commune at menial jobs to support the commune. They also charge visitors a daily fee plus labor credits, to discourage indiscriminate use of the commune as a crash pad.

In contrast to the usual stereotypes about communes, Twin Oaks does not reject technology. The members are very serious

about offering an alternative to mainstream capitalism. Therefore they do cost-study analyses and submit themselves to a rigorous code to keep the commune operating cheaply and efficiently. In addition, their structured community in a Klan area, gets along with their neighbors because they neither allow drugs, nor blast their radical visions to the outside.

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Freedom is a difficult thing to handle. How many people given the complete freedom to do whatever they like would die of boredom? No structure, no rules, no compulsion to work from nine to five, no one telling us when to do this, do that--it sounds great until we try it. We've learned to be directed by so many others--by mommy, daddy, teacher, principal, boss, policeman, politician, bureaucrat, etc.--that freedom from all this could be overwhelming. Imagine: balling, eating, sleeping, playing...and...ho, hum, now what? Where do you go and what do you do when the trip ends?

Give people freedom and they'll do all the things they thought they never had a chance to do. But that won't take very long. And after that? After that, my friend, it'll be time to make your life meaningful (Fairfield, 1972, p.190).

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Freedom, it begins and for many often ends there. The beginnings of the freedom are chaos--leaving one value system for a new one. The communes represent the struggle to renounce one social order for chaos and then, like gods, to create a new structure that reflects the image of its makers. As its deepest aspiration, the communal movement is designed to strip away the masks that the individual once wore to reveal the authentic face beneath. Ray Mungo compressed the ideology of his commune as follows: "Total Loss Farm: lose yourself (Mungo, 1971, p.26)." That is it, abandon the old self for a new one.

The commune represents the womb, a society to nurture the new self. The nature of that personality is largely dependent on the degree of self-conscious structuring of the commune itself. One commune may support the laissez-faire policy of doing your own thing, while another may rigidly structure the experience around religious principles. Each has its own private vision of the nature of the unrepressed ego, and it is this vision that determines the nature of the social harmony that is achieved and the self that is experienced.

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Communes can be roughly divided into two types: the hip commune and the intentional community. Hip communes are generally composed of the young freak subculture. They have an open-ended structure, which means that a person does his own thing and rules are kept at a fluidic minimum. Often, members of a hip commune are unprepared for the necessities of commitment that insure communal stability. They can read tarot cards, but cannot fix a pump. Except for the need to escape urban sickness, hip communes have few specific purposes for their existence. Life is ruled by Fate and Change, and purpose to them is the maya of a diseased civilization.

Intentional communities have a wider diversity of members, and, as its name implies, they are consciously working to realize a community that is purposeful and will survive. Members come from all age groups and social classes. The intentional community places greater emphasis upon definite structures and group goals. The community is not afraid to erect regulations and codes to sustain group purpose. In addition, intentional communities are generally organized about a central purpose or task. These goals can range from the creation of a spiritual community to the establishment of an educational network (Houriet, 1971, pp.205-206).

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We were told that there would be an unlimited need for educated people--which was pure bullshit... Whatever America creates, it always seems to create a glut of. The ultimate triumph of industrialism was to apply the techniques of the assembly line to the production of a labor force for post-industrialism... In 1960 the cold war was flourishing and no PhD ever dreamed that 1970 would see PhDs driving cabs and applying for welfare.

all dressed up and nowhere to go
So here we are. We can write dissertations, we can teach school, we can design bridges, program computers. We're doctors, and lawyers, sculptors and painters, film makers and urban planners, TV and film technicians, designers and architects, electronics experimenters, musicians, composers, and political organizers. And we're free. Free because we're irrelevant. We're the avant-garde of a tidal wave that's just beginning to realize it's a tidal wave (Jerome, 1973, p.20).

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Why Do People Form Communes?

1. Many people feel they are the new immigrants, exiled from their heritage and through solidarity they can protect themselves and forge a new life.
2. A group of people really enjoy each other and wish to stay together.
3. Technological Prophecy--an LSD vision may spark the urge to live in a harmony that reflects the unity of self and nature.
4. A common goal, like building a school or a media center, may bring people together.
5. Escape--the search for new frontiers and the exorcism of the old certainties may represent a new pattern of American growth through restlessness.
6. Apocalypse--the belief that the old civilization is rotting in decadence and verging on the brink of collapse.

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the Lama Foundation. Located in Taos County, New Mexico, Lama is a religious/retreat commune. The members are committed to spiritual growth and the commune has become a mecca for serious students of spiritual awareness. Drugs are not permitted; instead members devote themselves to Yoga, Tai Chi Chuan, encounter sessions and other esoteric systems. Lama is one of the most purposeful and rigorous of all the new communities. It believes in disciplined,

directed work in the physical, emotional and mental areas. Members arise at 5:30 P.M. for meditation, then a collective breakfast, working on the land for eight hours, and finishing the evening in a variety of classes and contemplative exercises. The function of this discipline is to give people a new rhythm in the aim of altering the old self.

While Lama's members share a communal meal and participate in the weekly ritual of Sufi dances, the commune is highly individualistic. Members live in separate houses. There is even a hermitage, where certain people can withdraw for a period of time and have their daily needs taken care of by a "servant". Lama has no central structure or ideology because it believes that each person must find his own unique spiritual path.

However, Lama is not solely a commune. Only five members live there permanently. It survives through visitors who pay \$60 per month to live there. Those who decide to stay a year are responsible for building their own dwellings and using their own funds. Since only 30 people are allowed at one time, Lama is a very selective and exclusive retreat for the affluent and highly educated.

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Bob Carey of the Oregon Family:

One of the first things that is noticeable here is that when we first came out here, we had the idea that by coming here, by dropping out, by making this move, we'd drop all our hang-ups; but everyone brought all their little things with them, their little things. So the first thing was to bust the bubble of how we imagined it would all be and then go back to working things out for real. There is nothing here to blame your hang-ups on. You can't say it's society, because it's your society here (Fairchild, 1972, p.106).

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"Communes straddle two societies, two moralities and two times: the present in which every American is expected to pay his own way, and the future, when man will theoretically have learned to share and work together without the barriers of private ownership." (Houriet, 1971, p.47)

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The first generation of modern communalists often face severe tensions between the worlds of "ought to be" and "as it really is." They are exiles from one culture, living in a new world, yet the remnants of beliefs from the old world are still strong in their minds. Unlike communards of the nineteenth century who were driven by economic and social necessity to band together, the modern utopians have chosen their style by a voluntary act of rejection. Communalists are faced with severe tensions and temptations because of this act of willful rejection. Backsliding is a threat to stability.

It is the problems of transition between two cultures and the fear of failure that places strains on settlements at first.

Members may band together, believing that it will be relatively easy to destroy monogamy, to establish total openness and honesty, or to allow everyone to do their own thing. When they discover that coupling remains or total authenticity is not possible, there is fear that the commune has not fulfilled its goals. The clash between myth and experience may destroy a commune or it may allow the settlement to redirect its aims toward a more practical stability.

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Utopia--no place

Eutopia--the good place (Kaufman, 1972, p.67)

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Modern utopians reject the world of the future, as represented by an all-embracing ideology. Unlike their predecessors, the communalists are not interested in saving the world through doctrines and millennial fury. They wish, instead, to find a space, the good place to solve their problems in their own time. They avoid, in most cases, a proselytizing bent; they attempt to live fully now, with experience, not ideology, as their guide.

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Bill Voyd of the Drop City commune:

The greatest impact of communal life upon the artist is the realization that all community activity is equal, that digging a ditch carries no less status than erecting a sculpture; in fact the individual often discovers he is happier digging a ditch, sculpting a ditch. Life forms and art forms begin to interact. The identity of the artist becomes irrelevant in relation to the scale of values employed, because the communal context of the work of art removes it from the market place; the artist seeks to work within a system that allows the broadest possible participation of the community. The artist's experience becomes a shared experience (Voyd, 1972, p.279).

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The One World Family of the Messiah's World Crusade was a family commune centered in Haight-Ashbury. The group, for a time, operated a natural foods restaurant. Its founder, Allen Noonan, was the focus of the movement. He believed he was an avatar, a messenger of the Messiah. In 1947, while painting a sign, Allen was struck by a bolt of white light. His astral body travelled to another planet where angels asked him if he would be the Messiah of mankind. Allen accepted. The movement is now defunct.

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While hip communes are generally egalitarian in structure, leadership generally arises spontaneously in the commune. These natural leaders focus the commune. They often lead the group's meetings, fight legal hassles and create a source of authority for the members. More importantly, their personality provides a model of the integrated ideology of the commune. The leader has assimilated the new values fluidly and is able to guide behaviors (Roberts, 1971, pp.116-117). Without leadership, the commune is doomed to failure.

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"Simplify, simplify!"
Thoreau

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The communal desire to live simply, in harmony with natural rhythms, produces a revolt against the excessive worry about the future prevalent in mainstream society. This emphasis on a linear future creates an illusionary "Perfect End," depriving the present of any value. We live for false goals that never come true because they are always ahead of us (Cooper, 1972, pp.41-46).

To counter this, many collectives have de-emphasized the future and the false values of scarcity and competition that accompany it. Life, to them, is a flowing of the present. It is now, not tomorrow that counts. Subjective time slows down, denies the alarm clock planted inside by the other world. Instead of saving time, they try to lose time and enjoy each moment separately.

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A word from a critic of the communal strategy of now-ness (Rudikoff, 1972, p.72):

The high value placed on individualism, on consensus, on the drug experience, on mystical states of consciousness, and in general on the cherished immediacy, confirms attitudes which are quite uncongenial to...thoughts of the future. What really interests the communards is the repetition, revision, and recapitulation of their own experience, so they have no energy left for the structuring of experience for totally new people other than themselves. Thus, the revolution in consciousness may end where it began.

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In contrast to the mainstream culture's belief in scarcity and individualism, communalists believe that the needs of people can be easily satisfied in a cooperative environment. Communards do not agree that competitive, aggressive behavior and excessive possessiveness are a necessary condition of normality (Slater, 1970, p.104). Rejecting those values that make society atomistic and pit individual against individual, the communes believe in the romantic idea that, given the proper ambience, people are naturally cooperative, loving and harmonious. The emphasis in the counter communities is toward the reinforcement of a group consciousness which does not stress individual differences, but rather seeks out what people can share in common. Sharing produces a strength and tolerance through a collective consciousness which is denied in the isolation of the old culture.

Modern communes' critique revolves around the alienation and loneliness which plague contemporary life. Society pushes community apart emphasizing the me over the we. Communalists believe that human nature is a group phenomenon. Social life is idealized. For it is only through the good of community that the individual can fulfill his genuine needs and life in brotherhood and peace (Kanter, 1972, pp.32-41).

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A critical factor in the stability of communes is their relationships with their neighbors. The sudden intrusion of a group of long-haired people, who are rumored to be loose in their morality and constantly using drugs, can cause a shock to a rural community.

Taos County, New Mexico, enjoys the distinction of having the largest concentration of communes in the United States. It also has a large concentration of Chicanos who do not like the invasion of hippies. The Chicanos are poor, unemployed and excluded by the same system the freaks have rejected. Yet, they have been saturated with the middle class values of achievement and upward mobility. They are affronted by the hippies with their education, their ability to make money (if they wanted to) and their rejection of all the values that the Chicanos are struggling for. The Taos County communards became scapegoats for the Chicanos. Cars of the hippies were dynamited. Vigilante groups burned down communal homes. Long-hairs were wounded by rifle fire, and some were prepared to retaliate in kind. While these reactions are extreme, they point to the hostility that is often generated by "foreigners" who will not accept the dominant values of a community (Stewart, 1970, pp.25-27).

A further problem is the communes' legal relationships with their neighbors. Oz commune, once located in Meadville, Pennsylvania, is a good example. Nestled in the midst of a Republican and fundamentalist area, Oz was at first treated with a tolerant curiosity from their neighbors. Many open-minded visitors came to see what

the commune was all about. But then the rumors began to spread of drugs, outbreaks of venereal disease and nudity. Two girls set up what amounted to a tent of ill-repute on communal grounds. These realities intensified community unrest. There was an arson attempt on the commune, and one evening the house was blasted by shotgun fire. Finally, the state police raided the commune and the house was closed. An injunction was placed on the commune which forbid its use for "fornication, assignation, and lewdness." They were told that if they left the county and did not regroup all charges against them would be dropped. And so Oz died quickly (Houriet, 1971, pp.XXV-XXX).

While these examples are extreme instances of community hostility, they suggest that many hip communes are unable to integrate peacefully with their straight neighbors. The successful ones generally live quietly and try not to blast their radical lifestyles to their neighbors. Often, if the members are sincere in their attempts for survival, they win the admiration of their neighbors. Old farmers are willing to teach the newcomers about agriculture, and often they loan tools to the communalists. Sometimes the commune can promote integration by providing service to their community. Their participation in the life of their neighbors through an educational project, a store or even a church song fest can decrease xenophobic hostilities.

When a white man walks into a room full of other whites, he doesn't feel he is among brothers, like the black man does. In the communes we are beginning to feel that man has many brothers...There is a new sense of honesty. You can say things to each other and share things like you never could in the family. I never had so much love in my whole life ... (Otto, 1971, p.21).

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[t]he hippie way is in fact a rugged cooperative individualism rather than competitive. The ideal is for people to relate to each other as they feel the need. The problem is that individuals come together on the land with most of the hang-ups they acquired from the society they left. Little improvement in the depth and quality of human relationships can occur under these conditions, as the need for individual freedom takes precedence over the need for community. "Community" means working problems out with others, not just doing what you want to do. It means having to compromise and to do some things that may be disagreeable (Fairfield, 1972, p.270).

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The ethic of sharing in a cooperative family entails the development of a collective feeling to reduce the sense of individual isolation. Aside from the everyday contacts, often the ritualistic bond is found in communal meetings in which all members participate. The weekly house meetings are a combination of a grass roots democracy and an encounter session. Members bring up complaints, assign chores and discuss policy issues.

This structure is partially a legacy from radical politics, where participatory democracy was the rule: "...making decisions by consensus in that one does everything one can to avoid a vote. One waits as long as possible for a common feeling to take hold of all or most of the people in the room (Lynd, 1970, p.451)."

The house meeting also serves a therapeutic function. Members confront their peers openly about themselves and their hang-ups with dealing with other people. Although some communes are receiving instruction in sensitivity training, most communes practice a very unstructured form of encounter based on openness and honesty. Staughton Lynd calls this style "direct speaking," which means if you have a gripe about your neighbor you tell him then and there directly what's bothering you.

This openness and group sensitivity often extends beyond the weekly meeting. A critical problem for all first-generation communalists is the alleviation of psychological differences which thwart the growth of a group/tribal consciousness. Often, abrasive and intimidating encounter-like dialogues go on daily. A representative of the communal conscience may berate a person for his inability to live in harmony with the rest of the commune. While this process can foster the new social adjustment, it can also be very destructive. A person is placed in a subtle torture chamber of words, which often weakens loyalties, rather than offering a means for creative self-growth.

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Morningstar Commune. Located north of San Francisco, Morningstar was formed in 1966. Its founder, Lou Gottlieb, declared a policy of open land, which meant that anyone would stay on the land as long as he wanted. There are no rules; nor organization, the attitude is that the land accepts the people. Morningstar is not a structured commune, everyone does what they want, although there is a great deal of sharing.

The open access policy led to disaster. Several hundred people came from Haight-Ashbury to escape the nightmare of love. But the transition was incomplete. The urban scene invaded the country. Toilets overflowed, rapes were common, and the open use of drugs brought police. Finally the county placed an injunction on the land and garnished Gottlieb's savings. Gottlieb retaliated by ignoring the injunction and deeding the land.

Currently, many people have moved on and much of the early disorder is subsiding. Although the commune is leaderless, Gottlieb's own personality gives the place an unspoken feeling of tolerance. Now he is attempting to form a religious faith based on mysticism and ecological shamanism to give the commune the solidarity of transcendent purpose.

[T]he grand utopian visions of the past have been replaced by a concern with relations in a small group. Instead of conceptions of alternative societies, what is emerging are conceptions of alternative families (Kanter, 1972, p.165).

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A member of the Walden Two commune:

Marriage is a very weak institution. It's supported on the outside by all sorts of pressures which are removed as soon as you get into the community. We remove the pressures and make alternatives available and people do what comes naturally. They will choose to stay married only if that's reinforcing (Fairfield, 1972, p.72).

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Central to the restructuring involved in communal life is the redefinition of the family. Communalists believe the nuclear family is a major factor in the alienation common to modern life. The family is isolated and loses its ties with other relatives, due to mobility. People become almost entirely dependent upon the nuclear unit for emotional support. A relationship often becomes strained with possessiveness when security replaces genuine love. Equally, it was a sexually repressive bond based upon authoritarianism (Roberts, 1971, pp.6,38).

The nuclear family placed an undue stress on self-help, so that aid from the outside (such as therapy or a friend) was never sought unless events had reached a crisis point. Finally, the nuclear family stratified roles which consumed time and freedom: women must keep the home, men must work, and children must obey the dictates of their parents.

Many communes have moved away from the nuclear relationship, to the extended family. The emphasis on brotherhood and community creates an intimacy beyond the narrowness of the couple relationship. Insulated security is replaced by a collective warmth and understanding. Within this mood, the pressures toward nuclear stability loosen their grip.

Freedom is one result. People are liberated from traditional roles. The social definitions of male and female shift. There is

less of an economic burden, so that the man is not tied to a job. The woman is freer, as there is a communal sharing of cooking and child rearing. When it succeeds, the communal member is enabled to remove one more mask.

In the communes, the eternality of relationship is often abandoned. The individual makes a choice about the duration of the relationship. The couple may decide to persist in a monogamous bond or they may experiment to form group marriages or share many different partners (Melville, 1972, p.194).

It is a myth that the transition from the old to the new culture is completely smooth. Abandoning monogamy is not a prerequisite for a successful commune. In fact, many communalists believe it to be a natural mode of relationship. Group marriages often increase intimacy problems geometrically, as possessiveness destroys the spirit of sharing. Like so many other shifts of behavior in the commune, the experiment is still in flux.

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Communalists, in so far as they are able to reject excessive materialism, come to see work as a game. The fact is that in a society of affluence, playing at work can produce enough for survival. The idea of work as a game means that, in a sense, hip communalists have regressed to childhood. Children play at work. In this way, the young communalists have given a new meaning to the Biblical dictum that "whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child shall in no wise enter therein."

(Roberts, 1971, p.135)

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Sometimes, the adults' desire to communalize their children is so intense that girls will have intercourse with several males during their most fertile days so no one will know who the father is. Because of the strong belief in natural childbirth, as held by the majority of communitarians, babies are most often born completely out of the reach of official sources. This means that just as there are no marriage licenses, so also are there no birth certificates--and hence, no Social Security numbers or any other tags or digits or ways of being classified and kept track of by the Establishment. The child, then, becomes a total non-person, so far as the straight world is concerned, completely insulated from the impersonal mechanisms of society, including, most importantly, the Draft. To further ensure non-identification, the children often bear only mystical names or descriptive Indian-style titles, like "Sweetwater" or "Cloud," or sometimes the names of the communes themselves.

(Hedgepeth, 1970, p.127).

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Child rearing in many communes is generally a shared experience. Children have a group of parents, rather than just two. Communalists believe that the child will then have a number of norms and roles to choose from and thereby avoid the possessiveness and coercions found in the nuclear family. Also, the group shares its ideas on child rearing with each other so that there is a wider acceptance of the new collective consciousness which emphasizes that parents should be caring and nondestructive with the children. The child gains almost a sacred stature in the commune. With the

belief by the adults that life is innocence, openness, and playfulness, the child represents the perfection of these ideals. Many adults dissolve the hierarchic split between adult and child, to reach the child on his own terms and celebrate their own child-like openness to living.

However, much of this idealism reflects an essential naivete which is often not innocent, but destructive to the lives of the children. Collective child rearing in theory often means no child rearing in practice. Since there is a great concern to avoid putting any authoritarian "trips" on the child's development, freedom and expressiveness become main tenets of child rearing. This often means that child rearing is avoided, leaving many children in a chaotic state with little sense of purpose, beyond being expressive and creative (Rudikoff, 1972, p.71). Rudikoff further argues that communal parents operate upon "a refusal to distinguish the children's needs from their own....this failure means that the adult's responsibility for the children is capricious, willful, sporadic, unpredictable.... (p.71)."

On the Papaya commune in Hawaii, one parent complained that her two children's rearing was given over to a young man who had no experience with children. He turned the children against the parents and placed them in a more oppressive, uncertain atmosphere than they had just left (Papaya, 1973, p.29).

While Papaya's problem may be an extreme one, the confused idealism and chaotic ambiguity that characterizes child rearing in

the communes may pose a threat to future communal success. If the communes are not to be a shallow, one-generation experience, the approach to child rearing must be placed in a supportive rather than indifferent, context.

* * * * *

Failure (!) (?)

It is a preoccupation with some communal writers to dwell upon the communes that have failed. Since most communal experiments do go through a faster birth and death cycle than larger-scale societies, failure or cessation of activity must be accounted for.

Today, a further problem complicates the question of communal longevity. Many "hip" communes are notoriously unstable; two years is often an exceptional length of time for their duration (Roberts, 1971, p.47). Within one context they have failed, but in the eyes of many members, the commune has not failed, because it is not an eternal commitment. The communitarian experience is a gig, a happening, and when it is over they move on to a new experience. Within this view of life as flux, the commune is a temporary society that solves the needs of the present and little more. One has a series of lives to lead and the commune represents a society, but also a womb that finally expells its members out into another world with a different life style. One member of the Drop City commune described this attitude, "We lead a day-by-day existence, functioning

within a loose structure that is always growing and shifting and changing as we change (Voyd, 1972, p.280)." The commune represents a temporary arrest of flux, and yet the acceptance that change may itself transform the commune; when it's over, it's over.

If we judge the communes by the members' desires for long term stability, then we can justly ask what factors contribute to the maintenance or destruction of that order. One reason for failure for communes is that they are often formed from a negation of values; members come together out of rejection of a corrupt society. Community becomes the result of a negative orientation with few affirmative values. Ironically, solidarity becomes based on the existence of the larger society. Without its stimulus, communards would have little unity. Such a setting promotes many group conflicts, the lack of directed goals often saps any sense of communal purpose and the commune dies (Kanter, 1972, pp.176-179).

A further problem is created by the transition between the two cultures. While a commune may have established a common purpose and stabilized its physical environment, the psychological transitions may cause panic that the members are not changing rapidly enough. As discussed earlier it is often not the simplest matter to suddenly divest oneself of a lifetime of values. Individualism, competitiveness, monogamy and formality are difficult to dissolve all at once. If members believe that they are not closing the gap between the ideal and the reality quickly enough, the commune may be subject to immense strains that lead to conflict and destroy solidarity.

Finally, stability appears dependent upon a strong, purposeful goal that transcends the individual and focuses the group toward a collective meaning. Service communes, such as in education or therapy, appear to enjoy a greater stability than those communes that are haphazardly ordered. Many religious communes also thrive as a transcendent meaning energizes the collective experience.

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V. CONCLUSION

Concluding this paper seems to be a premature gesture. The counter-institutions are still evolving, and cubbyholing them into "this" or "that" may do more to darken understanding, rather than enlighten it. Today, we desperately seek prophets to wrest control of seeming chaos. Astrologers to RAND people attempt to tell us what tomorrow will be. This apocalyptic, vatic mood extends to the counter institutions. Their members and admirers believe them to be The Alternative, the wave that will safely carry us into the future and deliver us from evil. Armed with this gnostic optimism, we are plunged into a "system" of creative anarchy, where the liberation of self is the key to the liberation of the world. Yet it is also anarchy, denying the social order and cultural visions that keep the majority of people preoccupied, in favor of a world of flux, change and openness to the future.

The basic challenge that faces these counter-institutions is that no genuine supportive culture has arisen to bind these forms within an identifiable order. No, you say, there is a counter-community and it is the basis for these experiments. There are people who are discontent, groups who have gone out in the wilderness, and movements that organize people. But this does not mean that there is community. The only community is the group, the tribal family; beyond that decentralist outlook there is little concern for the ties that might expand the group into a genuine counter community. As we have pointed out in this study, most of these radical movements

are in chaotic fluidity. This is not peculiar to them but indicative of a general mood. The intuitive bonds that people once felt toward a counter culture are now cynically questioned. Withdrawal and rebuilding this unity is the means to recover the feeling of togetherness on a small scale. And that is all there is at the present.

The positive vision that the counter institutions present is the attempt to recover meaning in time and tradition. The technological society churns up tradition, hurling us toward more and more unknowns, and blithely walking away from the question of how much man can be uprooted from his stability and survive. The counter-communitarians have jumped off this dizzying merry-go-round to find some points of reference to guide themselves, and perhaps serve as a warning to civilization, that things do not always get better and better. They have restored memory to an exalted form, asking that we recover in simplicity the harmony that we can never seem to find. This revision has entailed the restoration of tradition as a counteragent to technological insecurity. They question the myths that we call progress; they examine the place of the family, the reliance on experts and the "normality" of human isolation. It is in these areas that the counter institutions awaken the sense of possibility, the certainty that things do not have to ride us, but we can maintain the equilibrium that balances the individual and the world.

Time moves so quickly today that visions we once cherished often disappear before we fully understand their meaning. It is the

fervent drive of the counter institutions to stabilize an extended
consciousness transformation into a form that will not be washed
away tomorrow, but may provide a meaning for the future.

APPENDIX

MENTAL PATIENTS' LIBERATION PROJECT--STATEMENT AND BILL OF RIGHTS

New York Mental Patients' Liberation Project
Volume 2, No. 4

We, of the Mental Patients' Liberation Project, are former mental patients. We've all been labeled schizophrenic, manic-depressive, psychotic, and neurotic--labels that have degraded us, made us feel inferior. Now we're beginning to get together--beginning to see that these labels are not true but have been thrown at us because we have refused to conform--refused to adjust to a society where to be normal is to be an unquestioning robot, without emotion and creativity. As ex-mental patients we know what it's like to be treated as an object--to be made to feel less of a person than "normal" people on the outside. We've all felt the boredom, the regimentation, the inhumane physical and psychological abuses of institutional life--life on the inside. We are now beginning to realize that we are no longer alone in these feelings--that we are all brothers and sisters. Now for the first time we're beginning to fight for ourselves--fight for our personal liberty. We, of the Mental Patients' Liberation Project, want to work to change the conditions we have experienced. We have drawn up a Bill of Rights for Mental Patients--rights that we unquestioningly should have but rights that have been refused to us. Because these rights are not now legally ours, we are now going to fight to make them a reality.

Mental Patients' Bill of Rights

We are ex-mental patients. We have been subjected to brutalization in mental hospitals and by the psychiatric profession. In almost every state of the union, a mental patient has fewer de facto rights than a murderer condemned to die or to life imprisonment. As human beings, you are entitled to basic human rights that are taken for granted by the general population. You are entitled to protection by and recourse to the law. The purpose of the Mental Patients' Liberation Project is to help those who are still institutionalized. This Bill of Rights was prepared by those at the first meeting of MPLP held on June 13, 1971, at the Washington Square Methodist Church. If you know some one in a mental hospital, give him/her a copy of these rights. If you are in a hospital and need legal help, try to find someone to call the Dolphin Center.

1. You are a human being and are entitled to be treated as such with as much decency and respect as is accorded to any other human being.
2. You are an American citizen and are entitled to every right established by the Declaration of Independence and guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States of America.
3. You have the right to the integrity of your own mind and the integrity of your own body.
4. Treatment and medication can be administered only with your consent, you have the right to demand to know all relevant information regarding said treatment and/or medication.

5. You have the right to have access to your own legal and medical counsel.
6. You have the right to refuse to work in a mental hospital and/or to choose what work you shall do and you have the right to receive the minimum wage for such work as is set by the state labor laws.
7. You have the right to decent medical attention when you feel you need it just as any other human being has that right.
8. You have the right to uncensored communication by phone, letter, and in person with whomever you wish and at any time you wish.
9. You have the right not to be treated like a criminal: not to be locked up against your will; not to be committed involuntarily; not to be fingerprinted or "mugged" (photographed).
10. You have the right to decent living conditions. You're paying for it and the taxpayers are paying for it.
11. You have the right to retain your own personal property. No one has the right to confiscate what is legally yours, no matter what reason is given. That is commonly known as theft.
12. You have the right to bring grievance against those who have mistreated you and the right to counsel and a court hearing. You are entitled to protection by the law against retaliation.
13. You have the right to refuse to be a guinea pig for experimental drugs and treatments and to refuse to be used as learning material for students. You have the right to demand reimbursement if you are so used.

14. You have the right not to have your character questioned or defamed.
15. You have the right to request an alternative to legal commitment or incarceration in a mental hospital.

The Mental Patients' Liberation Project plans to set up neighborhood crisis centers as alternatives to incarceration and voluntary and involuntary commitment to hospitals. We plan to set up a legal aid society for those whose rights are taken away and/or abused. Although our immediate aim is to help those currently in hospitals, we are also interested in helping those who are suffering from job discrimination, discriminatory school admissions policies, and discrimination and abuse at the hands of the psychiatric profession. Call the number listed below if you are interested in our group or if you need legal assistance.

Please contact us if there is any specific condition you would like us to work against:

New York Mental Patients' Liberation Project
56 East 45th Street
New York, New York 10017

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